Volume XCVII No. 19 February 16, 1973 40 cents

commonweal

THE ABORTION DECISION
ROBERT F. DRINAN
THE EDITORS

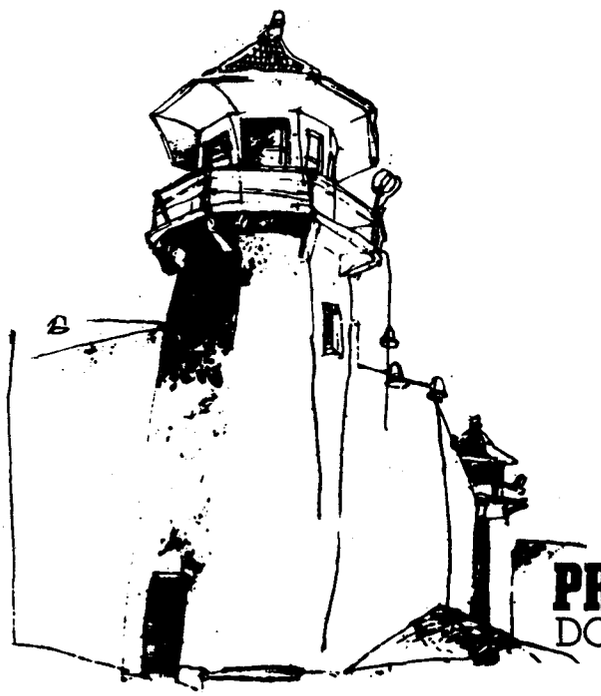
THE POLITICAL IDENTITY OF CATHOLICS
MICHAEL NOVAK

THE DOMINICAN REPUBLIC: LOOKING BACK
GARY MacEOIN

FROM BRITAIN: THE BBC AT FIFTY
BRIAN WICKER

ESCAPISM
COLIN L. WESTERBECK, JR.

DOUBT
EUGENE C. KENNEDY



PRISON LIFE . . . AND DEATH
DONALD R. SHOCKLEY

A-32540 12-73
ST CHARLES SEMINARY
LIBRARY
CARTHAGENA STATION
CELINA OH 45822

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

NEWS & VIEWS

A Man to Watch

In an action without precedent in Portuguese history, the new Bishop of Sa da Bendeira in Angola has publicly denounced colonial repressions in Portuguese Africa. He is the first member of the Portuguese hierarchy so to speak out.

In a pastoral letter published before taking his new post (previously he was Bishop of Villa Cabral in Mozambique), Bishop Dies Nogueira termed "repressions" following guerrilla activity "lamentable and useless."

"To maintain that terrorism can be overcome only by terrorism is politically monstrous and an unqualified crime," Bishop Nogueira wrote. "It is only through love, justice, education, and advancing the confidence of the people that terrorism can be overcome, establishing authentic peace, and not the false peace of terror nor the silence of the tomb."

Continuing, the bishop said:

"I have had to confront certain police and military authorities, and openly reproach them for their excesses . . . I am not naive enough to suppose that the excesses of repression have definitely ceased but I'm sure that much headway has been made in the desired direction."

His bluntness has caused Bishop Nogueira much trouble. "I have been under surveillance," he wrote, "the object of malevolent insinuations before the highest authorities. My private correspondence has been openly violated in spite of the guarantees of the Constitution and the Concordat. For a while I had the impression that things were improving, but later I again had reason not to be too optimistic."

The Graham View

Some people don't know enough to quit when they're lucky—like Billy Graham.

Newsweek spared Graham by not publishing his curious answer to Jane Whitmore's question about the December bombing of North Vietnam.

Asked the same question at the Inaugural by *Times*-man Ted Fiske, Graham forged assiduously on:

"There is tragedy everywhere. Violence is something worldwide. A thousand people are killed every week on American highways, and half of these are attributed to alcohol. Where are the demonstrations against alcohol?"

Incidentally, Graham's response to Jane Whitmore didn't stay unpublished. The *New Republic* got hold of Graham's answer and ran it in its pages. The answer:

". . . The whole world has a great deal of violence going on which doesn't occupy the headlines. There are many people being killed in this country by drunken drivers and crime. Man is prone to violence and there will be no cessation of that, not until the Christ of our Kingdom comes." *But what of the bombing?* "I deplore the suffering and the killing in the war and I pray it can be ended as soon as possible. But we also have to realize that there are hundreds of thousands of deaths attributed to smoking. . . ."

Catholics and Abortion

If one effect of the Supreme Court's ruling on abortion is to place squarely on the shoulders of the churches the responsibility for the moral formation of their members on the issue, then American Catholic bishops seemingly have their work cut out for them.

Last August, a Gallup Poll showed that 56 percent of Catholics believe abortion to be a matter to be decided solely between a woman and her doctor. On this, the bishops would be 100 percent opposed.

A survey conducted by the Oakland diocesan paper, *The Catholic Voice*, tends to confirm the Gallup figures. The *Voice's* survey showed that 53.2 percent of Catholics agreed that abortion was a matter between woman and doctor. Under the age of 35, this became 63 percent.

At the same time, 45 percent of priests indicated that they favored abortion "in some serious situations"; 84.6 percent of the laity agreed.

Corporate Enterprises

One way of gauging the size of large American corporations is to compare their gross annual sales with the gross national products of individual countries.

Under this system, General Motors, the world's largest corporation, tops Switzerland, Pakistan and South Africa; Standard Oil of New Jersey exceeds Denmark; Ford is ahead of Austria, Yugoslavia, Indonesia, Bulgaria, Norway and Hungary.

Texaco's gross sales are larger than the GNP of Portugal, New Zealand and Peru, while good old Westinghouse, your friendly appliance company, is ahead of Algeria, Ireland, Malaysia, Hong Kong, North Korea and Morocco.

That ought to console Wall Street.

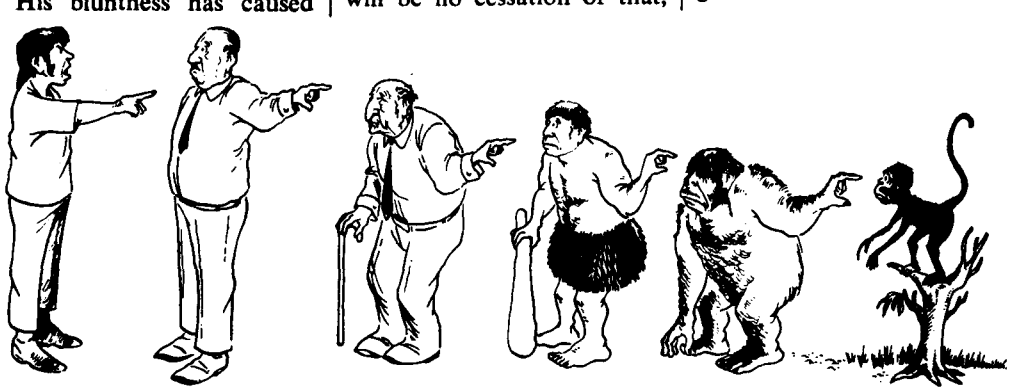
Odds and Ends

—A move to invite Richard Nixon to deliver the commencement address at Georgetown's May graduation has touched off a furor on campus. John Flood, student representative on the Honorary Degree Committee, protested to Father Robert J. Henle, S.J., president, that the choice of Nixon "is repugnant not only to the majority of my fellow students, but also to a great number of faculty and administrators." Henle replied that the decision is not final, and that the board will give "full consideration" to additional names. Student body president John B. Kennedy said he might organize a senior walkout if Nixon is the speaker.

—The *Los Angeles Times'* headline for the Supreme Court decision on abortion: "Mother Knows Best."

—A Pentagon briefing for freshman members of Congress, produced the following gem from Admiral Zumwalt of the Joint Chiefs of Staff: "We are a passive foreign policy nation. The USSR is an active foreign policy nation." More to the point, the remark was generally interpreted by his audience as a slap at RMN.

JOHN DEEDY



LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

CORRESPONDENCE

The Non-Encyclical

New York, N. Y.

To the Editors: While commenting upon the proposed encyclical which was prepared by Father John La Farge, S.J. at the behest of Pope Pius XI, your editorial writer simultaneously condemned and practiced guilt by association and character assassination [Jan. 12]. As such he not only undercut what was good in the editorial but betrayed that liberal inconsistency which has become a syndrome. Consider the inconsistencies:

1) To blame Christians (exactly which faith is not clear) en masse for creating a climate of opinion hostile to the Jews not only overlooks the fact that the Nazi executioners disposed of as many Christians as Jews in their frenetic efforts to destroy both the New and the Old Testament but is reminiscent of those tactics of which *Commonweal* erroneously accused Senator Joseph McCarthy.

2) The "slanted way of preaching the Gospel" which makes "Jesus and Mary . . . 'less Jewish' than Judas" is not a result of Orthodoxy but the modernistic interpretations of men like your much-favored, Leslie Dewart, who argues that Christianity developed from Greek philosophy.

Consider the syndrome:

1) Pope Pius XII is always criticized for allegedly being silent about the war crimes of Germany but never for actually being silent about the war crimes of the U.S.S.R.

2) The Pope—and the world leaders who sought unconditional surrender—is faulted for not responding more vigorously by those who still condemn the crusades and now want him to intercede and stay a response that is less vigorous than unconditional surrender.

3) He is accused—and by inference the real non-interventionists—for not siding more militantly with the war

(Continued on page 455)

NEWS & VIEWS: 434 **CORRESPONDENCE:** 435
EDITORIALS: 435
FIFTY YEARS OF THE BBC: *Brian Wicker* 436
THE ABORTION DECISION: *Robert F. Drinan* 438
THE POLITICAL IDENTITY OF CATHOLICS: *Michael Novak* 440
A 'SUCCESSFUL' INTERVENTION: *Gary MacEoin* 444
VERSE: *Jack Lindeman* 443
THE SCREEN: *Colin L. Westerbeck, Jr.* 448
BOOKS: *Donald G. Shockley, Eugene C. Kennedy, Maurice Lavanoux* 451
ILLUSTRATIONS: *front cover: Prison tower, Alan Cohen/Ramparts/LNS; Woman: National Woman's Calendar, 1971/LNS*

JAMES O'GARA: *Editor* JOHN DEEDY: *Managing Editor*
RAYMOND A. SCHROTH: *Associate Editor* ANNE ROBERTSON: *Editorial Assistant*
PHILIP T. HARTUNG, COLIN L. WESTERBECK, JR.: *Movies* JOHN FANDEL: *Poetry*
BRIAN WICKER: *Great Britain* ALAIN WOODROW: *Paris*
HENRY TEN KORTENAAR: *Rome* JOHN HORGAN: *Dublin*
LOUIS MICHAEL COLONNESE: *Latin America*
EDWARD S. SKILLIN: *Publisher* JOHN BRUBAKER: *Advertising Manager*

COMMONWEAL *A Weekly Review of Public Affairs, Literature and the Arts.*
Second class postage paid at New York, N.Y.
Printed in the USA and published weekly,
except biweekly Christmas-New Year's and June to mid-September,
by Commonweal Publishing Co., 232 Madison Ave., New York, N.Y. 10016
MUrray Hill 3-2042. *Copyright © 1973 Commonweal Publishing Co., Inc.*
US and Canada; $14 a year. Foreign $16. Single copies 40¢

THE ABORTION DECISION

The decision of the United States Supreme Court in favor of abortion is a fair measure of the growing secularization of American society and of the political impotence of the American Catholic Church.

We grant that law only imperfectly reflects a society's values. We know that in a pluralistic society minorities must sometimes live with laws that violate their beliefs. We acknowledge that in some states too restrictive abortion laws needed reform; and we concede that good men have argued well that abortion should be allowed as a lesser evil in special cases—when the mother's life is endangered, rape, incest or a severely damaged fetus.

Yet, what a society values it protects with laws. In that sense civil rights, minimum wage and welfare bills have a moral dimension in that they witness to the national community's concern for every member; and state laws restricting abortion at least testified to some consensus that life in process *is life* and must be protected.

Now, says the Court, that consensus is gone. In limiting the term "person" to those already born, in making abortion a purely "private" decision, in applying that slippery term "meaningful" to a child's life, and in trying to wash its hands of the question of when life begins by claiming that theologians, philosophers, and scientists had failed to answer it, the Court has, in effect, determined when life *may* begin. It has diminished the whole concept of what it means to be a person, and succumbed to that cultural elitism that marks cultures content with their values while slipping into decline.

The Court dramatizes what has been clear under other signs for some time: we stand in danger of becoming an abortion culture—one which cringes from the thought of death yet sanctions real death and living death for the convenience of the ruling class. An abortion culture is built on individualism, the rights of the strongest individuals to thrive; it sees "privacy" not primarily as a protection of the person but as a system of isolation—withdrawal from the full implications and responsibilities of sex and love. It is a comfortable way of life that settles for the least inconvenient solution to moral dilemmas—like bombing.

Now the church must think through the implications of its defeat. If the abortion debate continues on the present—women's exclusive right-to-decide

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

vs. "It's murder"—level, and if the public continues to view abortion in isolation from other social and moral problems, the anti-abortion cause will become the political tool of the right wing, of those who would resolve complex political problems with instant constitutional amendments and theological debates by excommunicating their opponents, of those who have consistently backed a murderous war, opposed gun control, and fought labor, health and welfare legislation designed to enhance the dignity of society's weakest members.

The "official" church response to the decision has been an embarrassment—episcopal fulminations and full-page dead-fetus pictures in the diocesan press, plus a reminder from Cardinal Terence Cooke that "judicial decisions are not necessarily sound moral decisions." But now the judges and legislators know that the bishops, with a few exceptions, are no longer strong moral or political leaders. They lost their credibility on sexual morality by their dogmatic opposition to birth control; and few take them seriously as guardians of human life when they can preach homilies at the White House and not speak for the innocent children of Vietnam killed by our bombs and shells.

What should the church do now? Radically re-educate itself on both the value of *every* human life and its own need to take a less compliant and more prophetic stance against the trend toward egoism and selfishness in our government, culture and church. Support responsible birth control so people will learn to decide about a child before it is conceived. Take women seriously and give them real status in the community of the church so that childbearing is not seen just as a woman's joy-burden but as a community responsibility. Make it socially acceptable and financially possible to have a child outside of marriage. Really be pro-life: champion all those whose lives are still in process, whose future is still precarious, whose true potentials are still struggling to be born.

● ● ● ● ● ● ● ● ● ● ● ● ● ●

FROM BRITAIN

FIFTY YEARS OF BBC

The BBC has had its 50th birthday this year, and has been celebrating the fact in a somewhat staid, maiden-auntish kind of way. I have heard recordings of various ancient broadcasts—old comedy shows, religious features, early performances by the BBC Symphony orchestra: and there were many others which I haven't heard. The best thing (to my mind) was a revival of the *Goon Show*—the most exciting and successful of the postwar radio comedy shows, which introduced a new kind of absurdism and surrealism into radio entertainment. But it was typical of the way these things become the property of the establishment that the Royalty were invited to the performance. (A letter from Prince Charles was read out, in which he regretted not being able to listen because of his naval duties at sea.) The occasion was also typical in another way: it showed how television ruins as many things as it illuminates. I heard the show on the radio, when it came off splendidly: but when we *saw* it being done, in a subsequent visual presentation, all the jokes went flat.

I mention this point to illustrate one of the obvious problems of broadcasting: namely that of keeping a balance between radio and television, in an age which thinks it wants to see everything, but which in fact would often be much better off, and able to concentrate its mind more effectively, if it would only *listen*. Yet, most of the time radio fights a constant rearguard battle, for money, resources, etc. For example one of the best and most adventurous radio producers in the country, creator of numerous genuine works of radio art, Charles Parker, has just been sacked, basically because his work costs too much; that is to say, because his stuff needs as much care, time and perhaps money as a TV show—and this is today thought to be unjustified.

One of the biggest problems facing the BBC, as a great national institution entering its second half-century (a problem which it has brought on itself, to some extent, because it has always regarded itself as a great national institution) is the question of democracy. There are two opposing forces at work here. On the one hand, the greatest strength of the BBC is the independence of its producers. If a producer can convince enough colleagues that his idea is a good one, then he is free to carry it out as he wishes without further ado. This makes for adventurousness, and a sense of personal style. The producer is a kind of artist, in that his job is to have good ideas and to carry them out. On the other hand, this means that the 'consumer'—that is, the listener or viewer—is largely excluded from having any say in the media, except by way of complaining afterwards. He cannot influence the pattern of broadcasting itself

In capitalist theory, of course, the answer to this problem is competition. In practice, I don't think it has proved an answer at all. First of all, because commercial television (and commercial radio, with which we are to be afflicted, under Tory government, very soon) is financed from advertising, the competition is

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

not really 'fair' in the sense that it is not competition between two producers working on the same basis. The commercial networks look for maximum audiences: the BBC is forced to respond, but at the same time tries to keep itself above the mere marketplace, and to maintain its 'national institution' image. It is very hard for it to do both. The pressure on producers is often intolerable. They are supposedly independent initiators of ideas, but in practice their ideas are subject to the judgments of the marketplace—in which they are at a disadvantage because of their obligations to represent the national institution.

The BBC also faces hostile pressures from at least two other quarters at the present time. One—probably the less important—is the organized lobby now known as the 'National Viewers and Listeners' Association,' but which was originally called the 'Clean-Up TV Campaign.' The old name is the more accurate, in that this body is still mainly concerned with opposing the 'permissiveness' of broadcasting—especially on BBC television—and has only come round to thinking about its more general 'watchdog' role in the community rather slowly and hesitantly. And valuable though some kind of representative 'consumer' organization might be, the linking of such an idea with the moral busybodies who run the present campaign is likely to make the real task harder, not easier. But more serious than the issue of 'cleaning-up' is the allegation that has been made by a number of politicians, for motives of varying respectability, that the BBC is too big, too bureaucratic and too powerful to be allowed to carry on as it is.

There *is* a genuine problem here, even if much of the arguing about it has been sinister. The BBC *is* too bureaucratic, too insensitive to minority opinions and views, unable to respond as it should. Yet the real problem is that of 'access': that is to say, of the ability of the BBC to make the media available to minorities who wish to present their own ideas, their own opinions, their own achievements, their contributions to the community. Too much at present comes out of the heads of professionals in London, who not only have their own ideas, but also their own preconceived notions of what is 'good television.'

However, there is one area at present to which I think this criticism does not apply. This is the area of local radio. The BBC began setting up local radio stations, serving single towns or cities, in the mid-sixties, in order to forestall the local radio commercial lobby. They managed to establish twenty such stations, and to make them going concerns, before the Tory government put a stop to further expansion, and handed all future development to the commercial interests. The result has been that there are twenty BBC local stations, with plenty of air time to fill but not enough money or manpower to fill them with material they can produce entirely by themselves. They have therefore been forced to welcome the help of outside bodies of all kinds—universities, schools, clubs, local societies, sporting organizations, etc.—in the actual initiation and making of programs: and though many of these have been of a relatively low technical standard, they have proved, I think, that more access to the media by every kind of group, minority opinion and interest would bring new life and zest, and democratic participation, to the whole field of broadcasting.

Finally, the question of money is at the root of all problems. The BBC is financed by the licenses people buy to operate a set. There has always been a lot of evasion and cheating, of course, but some of the major loopholes have recently been closed. Yet the BBC is still chronically short of cash. The sheer expense of modern broadcasting makes it very difficult to finance the work by the license method alone. What is worse, the level of license fee is determined by Parliament, and MPs are often tempted to think that votes are to be gained by opposition to unpopular license-fee increases—especially as these tend to hit the poor and the old (probably the biggest users) hardest.

In view of these facts, it is being mooted quite seriously, if not in public very much, that perhaps the BBC ought to be broken up, and part of its work hived off to commercial operators. One idea is to sell off its pop radio channel (indistinguishable, to my ill-trained ear, from the nearby commercial pop station, Radio Luxembourg, except for the lack of ads) and to concentrate on 'the serious' stuff. In other words, accept the fact that the BBC is a serious national institution, and let it do only the 'stuffy' things that are proper to national institutions, allowing the commercial people to make the money out of the popular end of the market. The thinking behind this idea is, of course, crude in the extreme. It is the thinking of the cheapest Fleet St. rags, like the *Mirror* and the *Sun*: commercialized populism masquerading as standing up for what the ordinary person wants. But the appeal of the idea is probably strong to many of the people who have power and influence, and I shouldn't be surprised to see it being discussed much more widely than it is now by the time the next general election comes along.

Meanwhile, for all its faults, I go on listening to the BBC with an avidity that must be surely unthinkable on the other side of the Atlantic. How many national broadcasting organizations are there who would devote an hour of national peak radio time to a single actor reading Samuel Beckett's recent and perhaps most impressive piece of metaphysical pessimism, *The Lost Ones?* Most of them would be trying to cheer us up with patriotic songs, or silly games, instead of allowing us to wallow in a fundamental despair over the whole business of being alive at all. BRIAN WICKER

(*Brian Wicker is* Commonweal's *correspondent in Great Britain.*)

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

THE ABORTION DECISION

ROBERT F. DRINAN

The Supreme Court balances privacy and pregnancy

In reading the 51-page opinion of Mr. Justice Blackmun's decision of January 22, 1973, invalidating virtually all state abortion laws, one gets the impression that seven members of the Supreme Court who concurred in Blackmun's judgment came to the conclusion that abortion should not be a crime and then searched for the least painful and the least controversial way to justify their conclusion. Neither the majority judgment nor the concurring opinions of Chief Justice Burger, Justices Douglas and Stewart offer a very satisfactory rationale for extolling the right of privacy as the reason why the state may not forbid abortions in the first trimester of a pregnancy.

Justice Blackmun almost admitted as much when he opened his opinion by reminding us of Justice Holmes' admonition that the Constitution: ". . . is made for people of fundamentally differing views and the accident of our finding certain opinions natural and familiar or novel and even shocking ought not to conclude our judgment upon the question whether statutes embodying them conflict with the Constitution. . . ."

The uneasiness of the Court on the abortion question manifested itself months ago when the Court ordered reargument of the issues. The epochal 7 to 2 decision of January 22 sets out clearly what was elicited on reargument: The opponents of abortion laws conceded that their case would collapse if a fetus is a "person" "within the language and meaning of the Fourteenth Amendment." The defenders of state abortion laws conceded on the other hand "that no case could be cited that holds that a fetus is a person within the meaning of the Fourteenth Amendment."

On these premises Justice Blackmun builds his case. He reasons that "we need not resolve the difficult question of when life begins" because "the unborn have never been recognized in the law as persons in the whole sense." With a wealth of legal citations Blackmun demonstrates impressively that the word "person" in constitutional and decisional law "has application only postnatally."

Blackmun does not, however, deny to the unborn all protection by the state. He firmly rejects the view advanced by those who attacked the Texas and Georgia laws at issue that a women's right to an abortion is absolute. A state "may properly assert important interests in safeguarding health, in maintaining medical standards, *and in protecting potential life.*" (emphasis supplied)

Privacy Vis-à-Vis Pregnancy

It will probably be astonishing for a long time that three of President Nixon's four appointees to the Court embraced the elusive concept of "privacy" to reach the radical conclusion that the Constitution *requires* that all states comply with the situation in New York State where *all* restrictions on the abortion of non-viable fetuses have been repealed! The seeds of such a conclusion were, however, explicit in a statement last year by the Court when it recognized "the right of the individual, married or single, to be free from unwarranted governmental intrusion into matters so fundamentally affecting a person as *the decision whether to bear or beget a child.*" (emphasis supplied)

FATHER ROBERT F. DRINAN, S.J., *United States Congressman from Massachusetts, was formerly Dean of the Boston College Law School.*

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

The use of privacy is nonetheless astonishing. The development of the concept of privacy in Supreme Court jurisprudence is so primitive that Justice White, dissenting from the majority, states bluntly that he finds "nothing in the language or history of the Constitution to support the Court's judgment." White asserts that the Court has "scarcely any reason or authority for its action" and is using "raw judicial power" in ruling that the right of privacy has "sufficient substance to override most existing state abortion statutes." White sees in privacy only a reason to prefer "the convenience, whim or caprice of the putative mother" over "the life or potential life of the fetus."

Dissenting Justice Rehnquist has "difficulty in concluding" even that "the right of privacy is involved in this case."

The concept of privacy has been used by the Supreme Court sparingly and infrequently. It seems fair to state that the Court has utilized the concept of privacy on previous occasions when it was unable to find a more traditional avenue to reach the result which it desired. The Court in its abortion decision stretches the "privacy" of a pregnant woman to mean the undesirable consequences which would follow in her life if she were unable to terminate the unwanted pregnancy. Justice Rehnquist in dissent stated that this concept of privacy was not even a "distant cousin" to any notion of privacy hitherto acted upon by the Supreme Court.

Even though, however, the concept of privacy is not very well explained by the Supreme Court those who believe that there is no qualitative difference between viable and nonviable fetal life should at least be grateful that the Supreme Court has not ruled that the fetus in the first trimester of its prenatal life is not entitled to the protection which the law accords to a human being. The Court has only stated that the protection which the law has traditionally given by state statute to all prenatal life must be balanced by the interest which a pregnant woman has in the preservation of her privacy. For reasons not very clearly elaborated by the Court the privacy of the pregnant woman must, when the fetus can live outside the womb, yield to the interest which the state has in protecting all human life, whether born or unborn.

Professional, Public Opinion

Although the Supreme Court utilized the idea of privacy as the crucial concept in its abortion decision, the Court also employed an appeal to professional and public opinion to buttress its case. Extensive material is included in the majority opinion of Justice Blackmun about the recommendations of the American Medical Association and the American Bar Association to the effect that criminal statutes forbidding abortion should be weakened at least to permit the physical or mental health of the pregnant woman to be a determining factor in the decision on the advisability of an abortion. It is significant to note, however, that the Supreme Court opinion went beyond what was recommended by the prestigious American Law Institute as well as the AMA and the ABA.

It seems rather clear from the decision of the Supreme Court that seven of the Justices felt that abortion laws should be wiped out because, as everyone would concede, they are unenforced and unenforceable. From this premise the Court constructed a case based on the idea of privacy, the professional rights of physicians, the deeply divided state of public opinion, and the right of women to control the processes of their own bodies. All of these things—and a few more—are put together in an opinion by Justice Blackmun which is balanced with extraordinary care but which in the end seems to mean, at least to this writer, that statutes forbidding abortion are unconstitutional because they cannot be enforced in view of the deep division among the American people with respect to this subject.

It is noteworthy that the Supreme Court does not want to be charged with promoting disrespect for life or allowing abortion at will. The Chief Justice, in a short concurring opinion, concludes that "plainly the Court today rejects any claim that the Constitution requires abortion on demand." Many students of the Court will not be able to accept that disclaimer by the Chief Justice.

Good Results of the Decision

Among the good results of the definitive opinion of the Court on abortion laws is the fact that for the first time the Court has cracked down hard on any nonphysician or delicensed physician practicing abortion. The Court made it clear, moreover, that the state does have power to enact and enforce a law which protects the right to life of a viable fetus.

Another clear and desirable result from the Supreme Court opinion is the development that the medical profession is now the sole regulator of what standards should be followed by a physician who is requested to terminate a pregnancy in the first trimester. The millions of Americans who will be disappointed if not appalled by the Supreme Court opinion now must appeal not to the legislatures or the Courts but directly to those physicians who establish the ethical standards for the practice of medicine.

It is very clear from the Supreme Court opinion, furthermore, that the physicians of America no longer have any reason to be equivocal about abortion on the grounds that it is a matter regulated by state law. The physicians of America as of January 22, 1973, were given virtually exclusive jurisdiction over who will live and who will die during the first three months of their

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

unborn existence. As never before, therefore, physicians must ponder the undeniable fact that their essential traditional role in society has been to save life and not to destroy it.

Many commentators on the Supreme Court's opinion will in all probability continue to attack and to some extent pillory the Court. They will be able to say with some justification that the Court's opinion will almost certainly have a tremendous impact in that it exalts the right of privacy of an existing adult human being over the basic right to existence of an unborn non-viable potential human being. Another possible consequence of the U.S. Supreme Court's opinion is the possibility that abortion might tend to become the birth control of the poor.

But those—and particularly Catholics—who for many years advanced their opinion that abortion is immoral would be wise to recognize that the strategies and arguments they have employed to influence public opinion, legislatures and courts were in large part rejected by the nation's highest tribunal on January 22. Yet those who believe that the inviolability of all human life, fetal or not, is the centerpiece of our civilization must not now be silent about their convictions. Their role will be different but there is some evidence to suggest that their new role may in the end be more successful.

TEN YEARS LATER – V

THE POLITICAL IDENTITY OF CATHOLICS

MICHAEL NOVAK

This is the last in a series of articles written ten years after the beginning of the Second Vatican Council in which the authors were asked to take a hard look at themselves and the post-conciliar church, their fears and disappointments, their hopes and expectations, all from the vantage point of today. THE EDITORS

The history of the Catholic reform of the last ten years, while unpredictable in specifics, has not been a surprise. "It will take us fifty years to undo what he has done," a Curia official forewarned in 1963 of Pope John XXIII. The city of Rome, the dominant religious symbol of the decade, suggested clearly the transience and the ambiguity of all that happened. "All day long, one is aware of fountains where water is running or of walls of narrow brick or heavy, dirty stones, which have seen generations of men come and go. Rome sheds the generations of men like so many skins. The silver water continues to flow from the jester's mouth. . . ." These were the first words of *The Open Church*. And the last were: "The jesters of the fountains smile and say, 'This, too, shall pass,' but meanwhile an age of creativity has begun."

Life always mocks human endeavors; an iron law of irony applies. Gustave Weigel burnt into my memory a simple sentence which touched rock-bottom in my soul —he uttered it with a face creased by weariness, a glass of scotch swishing in circles in his hand: "All things human, given enough time, go badly." We laughed as he said it. He laughed too.

MICHAEL NOVAK *writes a regular column for* Commonweal. *His most recent book is* A Book of Elements *(McGraw-Hill).*

The most trustworthy teachers urge us to take nothing at face value, neither optimism nor pessimism; to look everywhere for seeds of irony and tragedy.

It is difficult for me to believe that liturgical reform went from outlawing the English Mass to outlawing the Latin Mass. I can scarcely believe that it is against the law to have a Latin Mass. I would think every parish might wish to have at least one Latin Mass and that, on special occasions, nearly everyone might like to attend a Latin Mass, as a symbolic bond with brothers and sisters down nineteen hundred years and across almost every nation.

I find it hard to imagine how from a liturgy in which transcendence was constricted by confinement into the cultural forms of a departed age, we were ushered into a liturgy in which transcendence has symbolically all but disappeared.

It is, I know, a passion of the Anglo-Catholic sensibility to be fascinated by ruins. Who will ever forget the chiaroscuro corridors and flickering sanctuary lights of the decaying castle in *Brideshead Revisited*; Walker Percy's delight in green mold, decay and fallen stones in *Love in the Ruins*; and Garry Wills' barely suppressed excitement in *Bare, Ruined Choirs*? There is something funereal in a certain type of Catholic, bored until his soul is pushed to extremities. What excites him is

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

not precisely faith but the cultural form in which for him faith is commonly incarnated: the darkness, unpleasantness and scariness of catacombs, the pleasurable echoes of the underground. It is as though God could never have so loved the ordinary world he sent his Son to die for it. The only place salvation comes is underground. A witches' brew of doubt, torment, prophecy, decay, destruction, apocalypse and doom are given as the signs that the Holy Spirit must be nigh. Druids shaped the sensibility.

There is no death any longer in the Mass. No irony. No bite. The Mass was not translated into English, it was translated into optimism and suburban cheer. The meaning of the Mass was never joy, or peace, or celebration, or even festivity—not in some direct recognition, not by some Rotarian enthusiasm. Easy access was precisely what made the ancient gnostic rites so boring. Christian rites had the ring of truth because they led initiates into the routine depth of brokenness, defeat,

betrayal and nothingness—and found in *those* an accurate description of human life. God does not rescue us—did not rescue even his Son—from these. No *deus ex machina*. No glorious sunshine.

The meaning of the Resurrection is not that nice guys will hereafter finish first, not that virtue pays, not that the good triumphs, not that this world is a world for hope in progress and the future—but the reverse. Resurrection is required because this world is ruled by lies. Such resurrection as occurs occurs in faith, not in experience.

Such a recognition has its own quiet joy. It is an *in*direct recognition: God's voice in history—the Word—confirms experience. This life is not for triumphs, nor for the vindication of humans. This world will undoubtedly end badly, whether by fire or by flood. And yet no reason to despair. Keep right on working, aware that defeat is most probable and victory (should it come) is illusory; certain that the movements to which one gives one's energies carry in them results no human can foresee, are radically ambiguous, may contribute as much to the evils one hates as to the goods one loves. Historical movements are poor repositories for human faith.

Consider—even in these last few years—the moral reliability of "an end to innocence" regarding the Cold War; the new Kennedy team that would unite the best intellects to the best possible hardheaded politics; integration of the races; the youth culture; the New Left; community control. No doubt, ethnic politics will end as badly as the others. And women's liberation, too.

The point is that a Christian view of history cannot be surrendered for a flatulent liberalism without our paying the consequences.

Three things most amazed me in the developments of the last ten years: the collapse of morale among many of the clergy; the susceptibility of many liberal Catholics to merely secular attitudes—put another way, the lack of a distinctive difference in them by reason of their Christianity; and the simplistic optimism of Catholics turning their energies into political outlets. It is as though all those powerful writings of Dawson, Maritain, Guardini and so many others had never really taken root. As though people had not been convinced by them, never really changed by them.

Many of the best criticisms of modern civilization in its typically American form were not first made by Theodore Roszak or Marcus Raskin. Gabriel Marcel and Mircea Eliade and many others long ago laid the groundwork for criticism that has now become fashionable. Evelyn Waugh was as unsparing in his criticism of bourgeois civilization in England as Karl Marx. The poverty of liberalism was known to Catholic critics long before the recent radical critique of liberalism became doctrinaire under the pressure of Vietnam.

Certain technological needs of modern publications and television shows create a demand for "movements" and "trends," as well as for something "new." Much more than we realize, our minds and attitudes are tyrranized by these extrinsic necessities. To be well-informed today is to be seriously misinformed, in two senses: informed not by what is real but by what the media themselves, for their own purposes, generate; and out of touch with the less heated public. The media do not so much inform as heat. They sell "news." Money is the root of some evils, and the making of news is the root of others. Think of the silly deeds "newsmakers" are obliged to do to manufacture news. Think of the immense distortion of reality wrought by reporting solely what is *new*.

All of which suggests that one of the least trustworthy constituencies in our Republic is that of the educated and the well-informed—not because intellect is to be distrusted but because intellect is there so systemically flawed. Today I read in the *New York Review*: "My God, I said, this is my country, but must my country go so far as Terre Haute or Whiting, go so far as Gary?" . . . Or Nazareth, underdeveloped, sixteen dark centuries before Enlightenment? The emotional world of educated people is very often (so runs the testimony of articles and books) of most terrifying loneliness, "a sense of the self as stranded," where lives are "vacant and bar-

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

ren and loveless," here in the heart of Enlightenment.

Liberal, secular civilization has achieved much that is beautiful. It has also proved to be just as destructive of spirit and flesh as its worst critics gloomily predicted. Listen to members of "the movement" decrying this sick imperialist absurd society—and hear the echo of Cardinal Ottaviani denouncing the blind, destructive liberal world. Pius IX denounced modern ways in outrageous terms: but a hundred years later does the shaft of his objections—admitting its bias—thud home or not?

I remember writing in 1962, before the Council opened, that expectations were very low; it would be quite enough if the Council succeeded in cracking the thick curial walls even a little—perhaps leaving a hole just large enough for a person to crawl through. Ten years later, relations between Protestants and Catholics are indescribably affectionate, irreversibly ordinary, deep. We have lived through a cultural miracle. Working through the ordinary instruments of its time, exceeding the human input, what we call "grace" operated: *ex post facto* perfectly explicable perhaps, but beyond human prediction or control. What an extraordinary decade. When I think of the friends gained who might have never been friends, theological openness utterly taken for granted that earlier was exceptional and hardly trusted on either side; when I think of the millions of psyches opened to each other's genuineness, then sweetness flows through every vein. Humans labor; God gives the increase—no one knowing the hour.

Moreover, enormous energies among Catholics were freed for attention to the lay world. So far, indeed, has the pendulum swung that we may expect it soon to return. The hunger for transcendence grows daily as daily manna is withheld. Even clergymen swing past each other scrambling to enter the lay world. Not only did the layman get his due, he got the clergy too. Priestliness will return—weariness with the swinging, informal, sensitivity leader and the activist rebel cuts as deep as weariness with Bing Crosby did: priest as dated cultural hero.

Confusion arose among Catholics because effective symbols of transcendence were mixed with the symbolic forms of cultural and political conservatism. Rejecting the dated conservatism, many lost the gleams of transcendence. Accepting the secular city, they found a wasteland of the spirit. Along came the counterculture, the human potential movement, and the pentecostal movement to offer traditional American varieties of religious experience. Catholic wisdom should have been resourceful in its criticism and absorption of each of these. What was surprising was the shallow hold Catholic wisdom had established in many Catholic persons: so much uncritical acceptance, so little historical ballast, balance, or grip. The winds blew through the barque and swept a great many whithersoever.

I would never have guessed, in 1962, the clergy then seeming so heavy, stolid and immovable, that the clergy would be such a pushover. Of course, the institutionalization of the clergy was so severe and so restrictive that good men were doubly burdened: once by the dilemmas that crush us all, and once again by the dilemmas of fighting from within the organization. (The existence of *two* burdens is proved by the extraordinary number of priests who leave the priesthood but not the community.) As a seminarian I knew I couldn't do both for a lifetime, and so in January of 1960 I quit, little imagining the gale up ahead. With all my heart I am in sympathy with those who took the battering later, leaving or remaining. Either choice took a courage whose costs will only on the last day be revealed.

Trial and Error

Meanwhile, the turn to a political and social expression of our faith, which is the layman's role, became a decade-long process of trial and error, in which we are still engaged. Rewards on a national level come for entering the national culture; that is to say, for ceasing to be Catholic, Polish, or the like. For a Catholic, criticizing the Catholic church is one sure access to attention and esteem. Anti-Catholicism is strong among the educated, still, as Robert Kennedy's staff discovered in 1968; the *New York Times* is remarkable for its constant unintended insults to Catholics. It is legitimate and pleasing to remain publicly a Jew or a Black in a way in which to remain publicly a Catholic gives offense: *that* would be "ethnic" in a threatening way.

But there is no use being defensive. Anti-Catholicism —ignorant prejudices, stereotypes, unworthy suspicions —is simply a fact we must live with in America. It is, after all, quite easy to be "accepted."

It is also quite easy to abandon the specific, realistic, concrete heritage of Catholicism and to adopt the educated person's tradition of liberal outrage, and the mainline Protestant tradition of moral witness. Catholics in the civil rights movement and the anti-war movement, by and large, adopted Jewish radical and Protestant reformist styles of discourse and action. They often took, or seemed to take, a grim delight in slapping their fellow Catholics in the face with witness—witness, essentially, to their own moral superiority. There was so little sense of social toughness or institutional durability —so little sense of the firmness of social reality—and so exaggerated a sentiment of individual moral accusation: "You racists out there, listen to us!" or "Awaken, ye militarists!" or "We are the vanguard of the New Politics: follow us."

Words like "prophecy" are cheapened by overuse, especially when what is at stake is more often the profit of the educated class than the Gospels. Even when the goals of "prophetic witness" are correctly drawn—as,

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

for example, an end to the Vietnam war or racial justice —the political symbol is often one of moral accusation, divisiveness and insult, rather than one of invitation, reconciliation and forward movement. The impulse of moral outrage consumes the imperative of real political change.

Thus if two lessons have been borne in upon me by the political trial-and-error of the last decade one is the need for a careful class analysis of moral claims. What is often called "progressive" in our society is simply an unchallenged interest and bias of one wing of the educated class. There are two establishments (at least) in America: the wing of the educated class that wants the SST, and the wing of the educated class that exults "do your thing." One holds to *laissez-faire* in economic matters, the other to *laissez-faire* in moral matters. Both are less than Catholic in their grasp of social reality.

In this respect, I find myself more committed to opposing the imperialism, unchecked economic power and racism of American life than ever. But most of the arguments advanced on the Left, secular or Catholic, seem to me as vitiated by diseases as those they would replace. Actual human life has a social texture. That is the insight that both the Left and the Right, in American terms, consistently sell short at their separate predilected halting places. Aberrant and unempirical conceptions of the human individual wreak havoc with every aspect of our national life—not least with the interior life of individuals. (Who complains more of loneliness, alienation, isolation, emptiness, boredom and meaninglessness than our intellectual elites?)

Hence, I find myself, reluctantly, opposing main currents among our educated class and looking elsewhere for sources of political creativity and plausibility. Nothing in human life is pure or without ambiguity, but I have been driven, against my original intention, to the view that ordinary urban Catholics, white-collar workers and blue-collar workers, offer a better possibility for a genuine political progressivism than any other constituency. Their traditions are economically more progressive than those of any other group save the Jews. Their conservatism in family matters carries within it possibilities more humane and genuinely progressive than the alienating individualism of the educated.

The second lesson is that there may have to arise in America a new and different form of a Christian Democratic party, offering to Catholics a social and political expression of their own views that it is at present not possible to find in secular political parties. In Europe, Christian Democratic parties arose, as Mario Einaudi wrote, because of unresolved tensions between church and state. In the United States, economic principalities and powers lord it over *both* church and state, rendering both impotent. We are obliged then to find a way of giving incarnate, concrete social identity to fundamental Catholic imperatives; *viz.*, respect for the human person, family, community, nature, and the common good. I see no other way to do this than through the formation of a Christian Democratic party, or at least through a caucus of the Democratic party.

For the present Democratic party seems spineless and without energizing ideas. One portion of its Left wing is aggressively secular and, although it thinks of itself as humane, is crazily destructive of families, neighborhoods and the social texture of individual life. It is itself a very source and carrier of alienation, it is drunk on alienation, and it offers alienation as the sweetest badge of authenticity. The other portion, inherited from the great city machines of the past, from the unions and from regional one-party traditions, depends too heavily on the calculus of local group interests to face social problems in their full dimension. Many radical thinkers, who have discovered meditation, the importance of communes and the desperate need to revitalize local communities will perceive exactly what I mean. Except that such radicals are often so far out of touch with "middle America," Protestant or Catholic, that they are political and cultural eunuchs.

As the decade just passed saw us achieve the opening of the Catholic church, so the decade just ahead demands of us the opening of a genuinely Catholic politics. I still hold what I wrote in *A New Generation* in 1964: "No moral issue facing the people of the United States will be unaffected by the changes occurring among the new generation of Catholics growing up in America. These Catholics, born since 1930 . . . are the natural leaders of other Catholics of the world, in the struggle between the forces of men and the forces of technique. The time in which we live is germinative; it is the beginning of an era; small efforts now will have effects for many generations."

JACK LINDEMAN

WISH

What is really a resemblance
is the sun seeming exactly
where one sat beneath it
yesterday.

The rock has not moved
& inside oneself one wishes
for a similar immobility
keeping silent

those other voices one is already
tired of listening to because
they are closer than one's shadow
wherever one goes.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

A 'SUCCESSFUL' INTERVENTION

GARY MacEOIN

A retrospective look at the American course in the Dominican Republic

Santo Domingo's airport buildings are a dazzling white in the tropical sun. The visitor easily overlooks the pretentiousness of the self-identification as the International Airport of the Americas. With a United States passport, he is processed quickly and painlessly through immigration and customs. Soon he is speeding along a superhighway, reveling in the brilliant reds and oranges of flowering trees and shrubs in the park that parallels the road for miles along the seashore.

I could hardly believe what I saw when I reached the capital. Splendid avenues had replaced crummy streets, tree-lined, flanked by dream mansions. It was hard to recall the shambles following the 1961 assassination of Trujillo and the street fighting of 1965.

Shortly before I left home, I had read an AP story by William Ryan reporting that the Dominican Republic was again calm. What I saw on the highway from the airport and in the gilded square mile comprising presidential palace, U.S. embassy, nunciature, government buildings, AID offices, and international hotels, agreed with him. Armed guards, yes; but no more than you see in similar locations in Washington these days.

So far they were right, the Dominican friends who had urged me to come and see for myself how the *pax americana* we imposed on their country is faring. "For the rich ten percent and their United States business partners it is heaven," they had said. "But history is merely repeating itself. We went through exactly the same experience when you left Trujillo in charge of the police in 1924. We saw it again in Nicaragua when you set up the Somozas, and before that when you pulled out of Cuba in 1934 and started Batista on his way. For the rest of us it is hell."

These Dominicans are realists. They know that the economic or geopolitical importance of a ministate of four million people with a per capita income of $5 a week—less than many of us spend on cigarettes—is minimal. But they do insist, and this is an aspect brought home to me many times in recent visits to fifteen of the hemisphere's nations, that the Dominican Republic has today a unique importance. "Unlike Vietnam," they say, "you won this one. You have had a completely free hand to remold it to your liking. We can only conclude that you like what you have done." What Latin Americans see in the Dominican Republic is a preview of what we have in mind for all of them.

What, then, did we do? Eight years ago, we landed 24,000 troops who suppressed a popular revolt in which thousands died, then stayed on to see "our man" installed as President and his opponent in exile. Meanwhile, a team headed by our ambassador rewrote laws and regulations to reorganize the economy and secure the longterm success of our policies, with particular concern for the rights of foreign capital.

Our man was—and is—Joaquín Balaguer. He had been Trujillo's puppet President when the dictator was assassinated in 1961 but resigned under pressure in 1962, clearing the way for the election of Juan Bosch in what many Dominicans regard as the only free election in the nation's modern history. Bosch was ousted by the military in 1963, but a countercoup by his supporters would have restored him in 1965 if we had not intervened.

Why did we back a Trujillo heir against the choice of the Dominican people? President Johnson formulated our reasons and objectives at the time. He was sending in the marines to save American lives, he said, to prevent the creation of another Communist state in the hemisphere, and to open the road "to share in building a Dominican democracy." As a contribution to the third objective, he pledged "all available assistance toward rapid economic development."

In the years that followed we were deeply involved in remaking the Dominican Republic. We not only rewrote the laws but installed our officials as advisers in major ministries and even at Cabinet meetings. During the 14 months following intervention, we pumped in $120 million, a level of aid which has dropped gradually to $20 million a year, enough to ensure our continuing presence and influence. The current allocation again provides $1 million for military and police assistance, to include instruction in riot control techniques and "humane" crowd dispersal. Most aid now consists of loans, repayable with interest in dollars.

"Normality"

I agree with my Dominican friends when they say that the reduction of aid to a holding level means that Washington has concluded that the objectives we pursued in 1965 have been attained. The showcase of a successful United States intervention is where and how

GARY MacEOIN's *most recent book is* Revolution Next Door: Latin America in the 1970's *(Holt, Rinehart).*

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

we want it to be. This represents normality as sponsored by the United States—normality for Latin Americans, that is.

What are the characteristics of normalcy? Politically, the Dominican Republic is a pseudodemocracy. It maintains elections for the presidency and parliament, but within a framework of repression and patronage ensuring the success of the government candidates. In both 1966 and 1970, Balaguer undoubtedly received a plurality of the votes cast. In 1966, however, he ran against the losers in the civil war whose leaders were in hiding or exile; in 1970, against an opposition which refused to legitimate "the fraud" by naming candidates.

Of course, Balaguer is not a Frankenstein monster like Trujillo. A soft-spoken, retiring bachelor who at 64 still pulls the women's vote, he is not personally bloodthirsty. The Dominicans describe him by punning on the words *dictadura* (dictatorship), *dura* (hard) and *blanda* (gentle). "Formerly," they say, "we had a dictadura, now we have a dicta-blanda."

If not a Frankenstein creature, Balaguer is a Jekyll and Hyde. He has a reputation for devout Roman Catholicism and personal honesty, yet he breeds and fosters corruption around him. More than a year ago he told William Buckley that he was "always working toward the decentralization of authority." In fact, he constantly extends his personal control. He is minister of defense, foreign minister and minister of finance. He alone may sign expenditures of the state-owned enterprises which are calculated as being more than half of the nation's economy.

Balaguer follows Trujillo closely in preventing the development of organizations he does not control, whether political party, trade union, student association, or other grouping. The law allows freedom of association, but the police see to it that any head which becomes unduly visible is chopped off. After a visit to the Dominican Republic in October 1971, Pat Holt of the staff of the Senate's Committee on Foreign Relations noted that "the behavior and public image of the police have deteriorated" during the Balaguer regime.

The Economy

Such is the pseudodemocracy we have foisted on the Dominican Republic. But what about the economy? Is it not booming? By 1970, the annual growth of the gross national product was six percent, and the projections for the next five years promise a continuation of this rate.

Dominican economists with whom I talked, however, share the view of Swedish economist Gunnar Myrdal that gross national product as a measure of the progress of a poor country is "almost valueless." Apart from the flimsiness of the statistics, it may only be measuring undesirable developments, or conspicuous public and private spending and investments.

What is happening to agriculture, on which the rural 60 percent of Dominicans depend, is for them more significant. Taking a base of 100 for 1962, the physical volume of agriculture was up to 104 in 1964 but below 100 in the following years. Unusually favorable rain conditions raised production to 111 in 1969, but the underlying projection is for a continuation of the stagnancy of recent years. Improvements are concentrated mostly in three export crops, sugar, cacao and tobacco, increasing dependency on the vagaries of a world economy the Dominican Republic cannot control or even influence. An annual population growth of 3 percent while food production is declining forces increased importation of food and adds to the endemic foreign-exchange crisis. The United States sold (not donated) $5.7 million worth of surplus food to help meet this shortage in 1971, and at last report from AID a sale of $11.1 million worth in 1972 was "in final stage of negotiation."

Thanks to the transfer to the Dominican Republic of a generous portion of Cuba's preferred market in the United States, sugar continues buoyant. A reduction in the U.S. quota, threatened recently, would be a disaster, because sugar now accounts for more than half the country's foreign exchange. Dominicans are consequently terrified at the prospect that Cuba may return to the Pan-American community. Our new China policy and overtures to Russia do not reassure them.

In industry, progress is limited mainly to foreign companies which produce for foreign markets or cater to foreign clients. Their interest is in cheap raw materials and low wage rates. The higher the level of unemployment, and the 1970 census fixed it at over 30 percent of the economically active population, the fewer labor problems they have. Incidentally, unemployment would be still worse were it not that 200,000 Dominicans—a tenth of the labor force—are in the United States, an estimated 40,000 of them illegally.

Most prominent of the new industries is Gulf and Western, a conglomerate which has expanded in the Dominican Republic as rapidly as at home. La Romana sugarmill, the world's biggest, with a capacity of over 3 million tons of cane yearly, was its first major acquisition. There it quickly showed its approach, crushing the labor union with active support of the Dominican government. It has since bought up much of the eastern end of the island, facing Puerto Rico 65 miles away, and it plans major tourist developments.

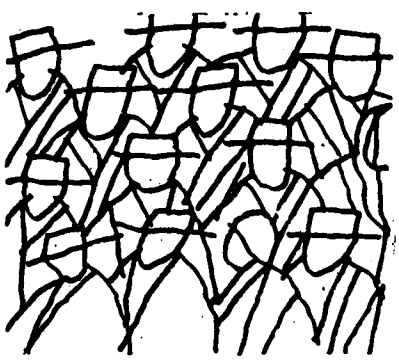
President Balaguer has given it big tax exemptions, including a free zone where it imports raw materials and semiprocessed goods for manufacture and assembly without paying duties. Some firms which earlier moved from the United States mainland to Puerto Rico for

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

tax savings are now transferring to G & W's free zone. Most of the 370 young women who work there make 30¢ to 40¢ an hour, far below the average Puerto Rican factory wage of $1.73.

"La Romana was always an enclave-type operation as a sugar mill, just like mining and petroleum operations in Latin America generally," a Dominican engaged in clandestine youth movements told me. "A few workers lived relatively well, but the wealth of the country was exported without any trickle-down effect. Now the conglomerates have discovered the same technique. The low wages do not provide purchasing power to buy the product. But they don't care. They export it, manipulating prices to permit the export of whatever profits they do not want to reinvest in buying up more and more of our most dynamic industries."

When I pointed to the obvious fact that La Romana is booming, he answered that the growth was cancerous. "They have created 370 jobs for women, and this has



lured thousands of unemployed girls from every part of the nation. The fastest-growing industry here is prostitution, that and corruption. Even the churches are being corrupted with gifts from Gulf and Western to have them polish its image and keep the workers happy. Just about every church around has a new building, and one of them got close to $200,000."

G & W has expanded into the tourist business for a foreign clientele, buying up beaches and closing them to the public. Scenic Developers, also a United States company, has joined them in tourism. It plans hotels and casinos on a small island not far from La Romana, and also a radio and television station aimed at Puerto Rico. In the same region is the Punta Cana Club, in which AFL-CIO's president George Meany and secretary-treasurer Lan Kirkland own stock, as well as New York's labor mediator Theodore W. Kheel. They have 15,000 acres, seven miles of coastline, and an airstrip "only ten minutes from Puerto Rico." In December 1972, all the country's Roman Catholic seminarians, 47 in number, fasted and prayed for a week to protest the handing over of national resources to foreign companies, particularly G & W.

The other flourishing industries are the typically colonial and enclave ones of extraction of minerals. Alcoa ships a million tons of bauxite each year. Production of nickel is just starting at the new $180 million plant of Falconbridge, a subsidiary of a Canadian corporation. Like G & W, Falconbridge knows how to deal with labor. A strike of construction workers at its plant was smashed in eight days with help from the Dominican army.

My Dominican friends stress what they call "the neocolonial character" of this development. It locks the country more completely than before, they say, into the role of supplier of raw materials and agricultural produce to the developed world. That means a progressively smaller share in world trade, a continuous deterioration of terms of trade, the elimination of Dominicans from decision-making over their lives, and helpless subjection to the vicissitudes of world trade cycles. A slight recession in the United States, for example, means a major depression in the Caribbean tourist industry.

Development of industries for domestic consumption is encouraged on the basis of financial returns for the entrepreneurs, which means that they cater to the 20 percent or less who form the middle- and upper-classes, ignoring the more urgent needs of the 80 percent on the subsistence level. A study of the Economics Faculty of the University of Santo Domingo released in 1971 reveals that half the requests for tariff exemptions made by companies processing goods for popular consumption are denied, whereas 8 requests out of 10 are approved for companies making luxury items. Of 21 factories opened in the past few years, it asserts, 11 were for making cosmetics, this in a country where half the rural homes are technically "uninhabitable" and only 5 in every thousand are constructed with permanent materials. The typical rural home is a 1-room shack with dirt floor, palm-leaf roof, no light, water, or sanitation.

New industries utilize sophisticated technology and machines brought from the United States, creating few jobs. Wages are low. A semiskilled worker, like a policeman or a lower civil servant, will earn $50 to $100 a month. City prices are high, with meat as dear as in the United States, and inflation has caused the currency to lose ten percent of its purchasing power in the past two years. The rate of inflation rose steeply during 1972. Yet factory wages are so far above those on the land that the influx to the cities continues unabated. Santo Domingo, the capital, has doubled to 700,000 in a decade, and by the latest estimates fully half of its work force is unemployed.

US-AID not only played a determining role in the development of this economy but sank substantial amounts in it. For several years after the 1965 civil war, we made up major deficits in the Dominican budget, thereby enabling the Balaguer regime to pump money into lavish public buildings, and reward supporters by creating high-level sinecures for them in the civil service.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

We provided and continue to provide many millions for loans to new industries. One recent loan was made to enable a tourist hotel to install a swimming pool filter system, a diving board, underwater lights and restaurant and bar equipment.

We hold up money when the objectives we seek are jeopardized. Less than a quarter million dollars had been disbursed at latest reckoning of a $7.1 million AID loan for maternal health and infant care authorized in June 1968, because the Dominicans are balking at the birth-control elements in the program. But we make no similar efforts to promote the land reform to which we committed ourselves in the Alliance for Progress.

The structure of landholding is the basic problem of the Dominican Republic, as of most of Latin America. Good land is underused by wealthy owners, while the poor fragment their miniholdings as their numbers grow. In 1960, one percent of landholders held 45.4 percent of cultivable land, while 310,340 farmers had holdings too small to maintain a peasant family. Ten years later, the minifarms numbered 450,000 while big farmers did more than retain their share of cultivable land. They increased it to 50 percent.

Meanwhile, the land reform initiated in 1962 under the Alliance for Progress had given family farms to 7,068 families, just two percent of those who need more land, and only a fraction of the annual increase in farm families. The new farms were carved out of public lands, doing nothing to reduce the monopoly of power of the big landholders. And most of the beneficiaries were given tentative titles, leaving them at the mercy of the bureaucrats as they were formerly at the mercy of the landowners. New laws were recently promulgated which, if implemented, would improve the structure of landholding, but many doubt that they will be implemented.

This abandonment of land reform has been acquiesced in by Washington not only in the Dominican Republic but generally throughout Latin America. Yet, as Gunnar Myrdal insists, the alternatives of community development, miracle seeds and population control on which the United States now concentrates cannot substitute. Within existing patterns of landholding, says Myrdal, community development and miracle seeds both cater "to the vested interests of the landlords, the money lenders, and generally the upper strata in the villages." As for contraception, without which no solution to the runaway population growth can be envisaged, he makes the essential point that motivation is the key to successful contraception; and those who lack everything lack motivation.

Cooperative leaders and many other peasants and workers with whom I talked in a wide-ranging survey of the countryside and of city slums have a remarkably clear, if not totally accurate, picture of the situation. They agree in particular in blaming the United States for all their sufferings.

Concentrating as they do almost exclusively on sport, comic strips, murders and gossip, the newspapers are certainly not the source of this picture. But since April 1970, the Dominicans each week on a radio program have been hearing a voice that many believe. In that month Juan Bosch returned from exile, and he has since devoted his time to explaining the political program he developed while he lived in France and traveled to China, North Korea and North Vietnam. His international reputation as a writer and intellectual has so far ensured his freedom to speak. But he takes no chances, seldom leaving his modest second-floor apartment a block and a half from the U.S. Embassy.

Following a long tradition, Bosch devotes much of his time to receiving well-wishers and favor-seekers. Half a dozen were waiting impassively in an outer room the morning I called. Unlike Balaguer, who acquired from Trujillo some of his sense of display, Bosch favors simplicity. The two young men who function as receptionists, telephone clerks and bodyguards, were pleasant and casual. One quickly produced a coffee and apologized for a delay in seeing Dr. Bosch, a delay he attributed to the late arrival of the visitor now closeted with him. He then filled in the time by pointing out to me, with evident pride, a half dozen of Bosch's own books scattered among hundreds of others on bookshelves which lined the walls, as well as various awards and trophies spread about.

In answer to my questions, he filled in some background details about the Master. Bosch is a powerful public speaker with a deep resonant voice. A grandfather who enjoys sitting with family and friends, smoking cigarettes, rocking in a chair and discussing the day's news, he still uses in his political speeches, and also in the fiction he writes, the peasant language of the Cibao where he was born and raised.

When he spoke to me, however, it was the speech of a cultured man, and the voice—though firm—was low. On one issue in particular he was specific. He sees the foreign policy of the United States as the primary cause of underdevelopment not only in his country but throughout Latin America. The end result of all the programs of private and public aid is for him a growing distortion of every country, a growing gap between them and the United States, and a growing gap between the oligarchies and the masses in each country.

A typical Latin American "oligarchic front" consists, Bosch says, of the big landowners, the importers and exporters, the banks, some elements of the middle-class (especially civil servants, intellectuals, military and police), and international imperialism represented by the Pentagon. Roman Catholic priests were also a part in the past, but they have abandoned it since about 1966.

When Bosch says imperialism, he means the United States companies "which act in Latin America as though

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

they owned it and had exclusive right to exploit it." The power of this imperialism "arises from the fact that it has the automatic support of the government of the United States on every issue, the world's most powerful government both economically and militarily. This government uses its power to back North American capitalists everywhere, but especially in Latin America. The U.S. embassies in our countries are agencies of their government to secure from our governments special treatment for U.S. companies. Any government that refuses is called unfriendly. The U.S. press denounces it as Communist or fellow-traveling, and a military coup overthrows it. The control exercised by the U.S. military missions over the Latin American armed forces makes it easy to arrange such coups, and opinion is prepared for it by the middle-class elements which form part of the oligarchic front."

Although kept in existence by the economic and military power of the United States, the oligarchic fronts are no longer able to fulfill the basic function of government. "They can offer their peoples neither stability, progress, freedom, or justice. They cannot provide work for even half the workers, not even at poverty wages."

Of "tremendous importance" for Bosch is the defection of the Roman Catholic church from the oligarchic front. The withdrawal of church support was the coup de grace for Perón in Argentina, Pérez Jiménez in Venezuela and Trujillo in the Dominican Republic. The new hemispheric attitude, although it has not yet reached the reactionary hierarchy of the Dominican Republic, is for Bosch one of many indications that the days of the oligarchic front are numbered, and that Latin America is entering a new stage of history.

Bosch believes that what will follow is "the dictatorship with popular support," which will ensure work, health and education for all. "It will guarantee all of man's basic freedoms, including freedom from hunger, from exploitation and from public or private violence. It will guarantee full equality, social as well as legal."

Its first action will be to dismantle the oligarchic front and to nationalize all foreign firms and the foreign ownership of mixed firms, setting aside a part of future profit as compensation. All export and import firms, as well as banks, will also be nationalized, as will big landholdings, "giving adequate compensation to those landlords who will have worked to establish the regime." The land will be given to the peasants to work cooperatively. All other activities will be left in the hands of present owners, but subject to state supervision to prevent exploitation of the workers.

Three years ago, Bosch refused to have the party he heads, the Dominican Revolutionary Party, participate in elections. They would not be honest, he insisted, a judgment which the *New York Times* confirmed editorially. Today, however, he seems to think that he can beat the system, as Allende has done in Chile, and he is trying to form a coalition with other opposition groups for next year's elections. The grassroots organization of his party is superior to any other, even that of Balaguer. And Bosch is counting heavily on a major international crisis which will involve the United States in more serious tasks than maintaining a puppet regime in the Dominican Republic. The dollar crisis, he says, was a mere curtain raiser.

Whatever it may think of that point, Washington has recently been showing some anxiety to end its identification with the Balaguer regime. Our ambassador stated publicly in January 1972 that any U.S. military "adviser" who gave orders to a Dominican would immediately be shipped out. Disengagement is not easy, however, especially because of the universal belief among Dominicans that we dominate and determine all aspects of their life. As Pat Holt said after his visit, our presence and influence have been "so overwhelming and so pervasive that if we withdrew completely tomorrow, our presence would live on for years in a kind of reflected half-life." Just as when we withdrew our support of Diem in Vietnam, to stop intervening in such circumstances becomes a new form of intervention. Yet unless we find a way to disengage constructively, both in the miniscule Dominican Republic and in the other Latin American dictatorships we now support, we are going to find ourselves in deeper quagmires than those of Southeast Asia.

ESCAPISM

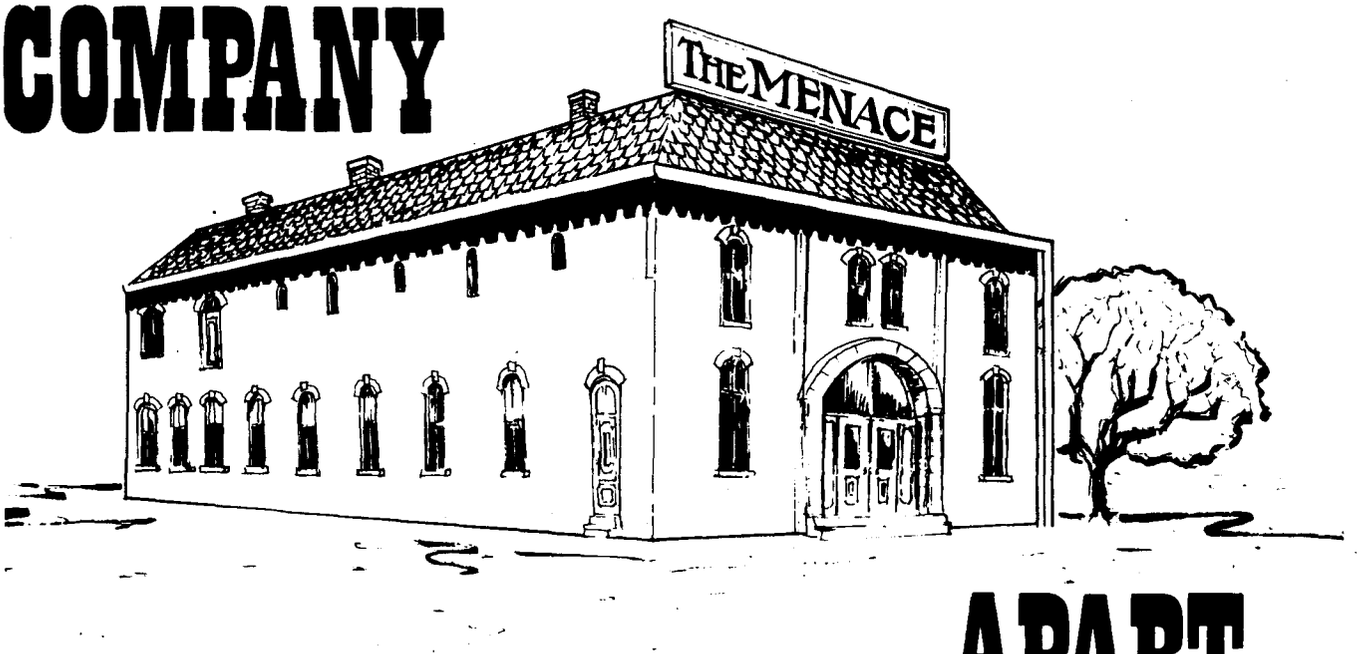
THE SCREEN

Sam Peckinpah's new film, *The Getaway*, begins with a pretty heavy cinematic allusion. Doc McCoy (Steve McQueen) is sitting in his cell toying with a bridge he's constructed from matchsticks. He's just been refused parole, and suddenly he smashes the bridge in frustration. Thus the scene appears a remembrance of Mervyn Leroy's 1932 classic, *I Am a Fugitive from a Chain Gang*, which concerns a bridge-building engineer who is unjustly jailed and must at last blow up a bridge in order to make good an escape. Peckinpah's last film began similarly—with a replay of the bulldozing scene from John Ford's *The Grapes of Wrath*—and these little touches suggest that Peckinpah would like to identify his contemporary characters with those luckless, pure-hearted heroes in the films of the thirties.

As a type, Doc would seem to fit right in with the traditional Hollywood heroes. He does not find himself in quite the same circumstances as the men in the social-protest films just mentioned, but his character does com-

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

A VISTOR PICKED THIS COMPANY



APART

The company was The Menace publishing house. About 60 years ago it put out a hate-paper of the same name.

Back then, people didn't understand the Mass, Confession, or Communion — except for what they could find to read about these topics. Knowing this, the editors of The Menace published some of the most outrageous lies imaginable about the Catholic faith.

The Menace soon had a circulation of more than a million copies a week. It was a highly profitable venture, but it made Catholics the scapegoats for practically everything that troubled the nation.

In answer to these lies, Father John Francis Noll began publishing a basic, instructional newspaper with factual information about the Catholic faith — OUR SUNDAY VISITOR. People found his style of writing very appealing. He told the truth. And eventually, Father Noll's "VISITOR" picked The Menace apart.

Today, OUR SUNDAY VISITOR is an informative newsmagazine that keeps Catholics across the nation informed on issues of current concern in the Church.

Every weekly issue has something of interest for each member of the Catholic family. Regular features include: comments on timely Church issues, book and television reviews, full color photo features, a special 2-page section for Catholic youth, and more.

You can sponsor this relevant Catholic newsmagazine for your parish, school, or church organization. For information on our bulk subscription program write to: Mr. Dennis Bednarski / OUR SUNDAY VISITOR / Noll Plaza / Huntington, Indiana 46750.

Because change in the Church is constant, OUR SUNDAY VISITOR is the kind of paper that today's Catholic needs to keep informed.

OUR SUNDAY VISITOR

There when you need us.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

bine honor with shrewdness in a way at least typical of the cowboys and desperadoes in earlier talkies. The circumstances here are that Doc's wife, Carol (Ali MacGraw), gets him out of jail by offering his services as a stick-up artist to an influential member of the parole board (Ben Johnson) who wants a certain bank robbed. As soon as the robbery has been pulled, of course, all the people who were in on it are out for each other's throats. Doc and Carol must make their getaway not only from the police, but from his own partners in the robbery as well.

It is precisely against such unfair and overwhelming odds that a character like Doc can show how he is able to survive by his wits. After the robbery, Doc's accomplice, Rudy (Al Lettieri), is planning to kill Doc at their rendezvous; but Doc knows this intuitively and gets the drop on Rudy. When Carol stupidly lets some two-bit con man in a train station steal the suitcase of bank loot, Doc recovers it by spotting the scratch marks around a lock the guy picks in his attempt to hide. Once Doc and Carol finally reach Laughlin's Hotel in El Paso, where they hope to cross into Mexico, Doc senses a trap because his friend Laughlin (Dub Taylor), whose wife never lets him out of her sight, is manning the hotel's front desk by himself. This is the sort of instinctive intelligence with which a loner like Doc has always survived in the movies.

Yet shrewdness is nothing without honor. While Doc is involved in several gun battles with the police, for instance, he never actually shoots a cop. On the contrary, though blasting away at police cars with shotgun and pistol, Doc seldom does more harm than to blow out headlights or tires, rather the way gunfighters could usually be relied upon to shoot the pistol out of an impetuous lad's hand without even breaking the skin. The sort of cold-bloodedness and pleasure in violence that cop-killing represents is more in the line of Rudy, who is, far more than the cops, Doc's real nemesis in this film.

In one aspect *The Getaway* is two cross-cut, parallel stories, Rudy's and Doc's, as the two men make their way to Laughlin's. But if Doc is the traditionally idealized tough guy, Rudy is the more recent type of the gunsel who is cruel, unpredictable and murderous by nature. Moreover, there is a woman in Rudy's life too—Fran (Sally Struthers), the wife of a veterinarian who is made to drive Rudy to El Paso at gun point. While Doc's relationship with Carol is supposed to be a relatively straight and loving one, Rudy's *ad hoc* relationship with Fran is the opposite: maso-sadistic, kinky and dehumanized. When Doc finally does have to kill Rudy, it is a triumph of the old-fashioned good guys over the newfangled bad guys.

Send for a Trial Subscription
Return coupon from page 454

To the extent that Peckinpah's characters beg comparison with the traditional movie heroes, Peckinpah himself is asking to be associated in our minds with the veteran Hollywood directors. The mantle he would inherit is theirs. He is perhaps rightly thought of in these terms too. Like many American filmmakers, including some of the best, Peckinpah's feeling as a director is for violence rather than people. The shortcoming of his film is that whenever human relations are more private and personal than Doc's relationship to the cops, Peckinpah's intuition as a director fails him. He handles Rudy's courtship of Fran convincingly enough because it has the same emotions as a street fight. But he can't do a scene where two people are really supposed to be in love and show affection for each other. Doc's reunion with Carol when he leaves prison—it includes a slow-motion dip in a pond with all their clothes on—is pure *Goodbye, Columbus* kitsch. Though the action sequences in this film would repudiate all the recent clichés, the romantic scenes imitate them.

At the heart of the matter—or rather, the lack of heart—is Ali MacGraw. Bunuel cast Catherine Deneuve in *Belle de Jour* to offend the audiences that loved her in *The Umbrellas of Cherbourg*. Perhaps Peckinpah, again playing off an allusion of sorts, thought to do something similar—to affront all those who came to *The Getaway* because they liked Ms. MacGraw so much in *Love Story*, or *Goodbye, Columbus*. (There is a scene in this film where she and McQueen are buried alive in garbage.) But whatever the reason for putting her in the role, the effect, since she is incapable of acting, is to create a void in the film that seems to match the one in Peckinpah's imagination.

Still, as lopsided as they are, the talents Peckinpah does have are real. Robert Benton, the co-author of *Bonnie and Clyde* and director of *Bad Company*, once told me that from Peckinpah's *Ride the High Country* he had learned that violence is "a specific act, not a mythological one." Peckinpah does seem at times to have this special insight into violence. There is one scene in *The Getaway* where a clerk in a shop recognizes Doc. While he calls the police, Doc goes next door to buy a shotgun; and while the sporting-goods salesman hails the cops answering the first clerk's call, Doc walks a few doors further down the street to load the gun before taking final charge of the situation. Gun play has been done to death in movies, and no drama could be more limited or harder to renew. But there is something about the openness with which Doc acts that carries us along in this scene. His confidence is persuasive that he will not be interfered with doing such a thing in a public street at midday. No matter how uneven this film may be as a whole, Peckinpah can still do a scene like this better than any half-dozen other directors.

COLIN L. WESTERBECK, JR.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

BOOKS

Life and death in those modern dungeons called prisons

Attica: The Official Report of the New York State Special Commission on Attica

Bantam, paper, $2.25

Struggle for Justice: A Report on Crime and Punishment in America

Hill and Wang, $4.50 $1.95 (paper)

Maximum Security: Letters from Prison

EVE PELL, ED.

Dutton, $6.95

Blood in My Eye

GEORGE L. JACKSON

Random House, $5.95

DONALD G. SHOCKLEY

In one of his letters, St. Paul admonished his readers to "remember those who are in prison as though you were there with them" (Hebrews 13:03). The injunction is an impossible one to keep today since in America we have traditionally kept our prisons utterly divorced from the communities which, in theory at least, they are supposed to serve. Even if we cared, and most of us don't, it would be impossible to accurately remember those who are in prison unless we were in fact there with them.

In recent years, we have occasionally been introduced to life behind the walls through the medium of the printed page, most notably in George Jackson's *Soledad Brother*. *Maximum Security* is another book of that genre, a selection from among "thousands" of letters written, sealed and uncensored, to attorneys during a period when such communications were allowed by the California Department of Corrections. All the letters are from convicted felons who have spent time in the dreaded "adjustment centers"—the worse sections of the toughest prisons in the state. They cannot then be said to be typical of the prison population as a whole. Still, what is given is the raw, undiluted impressions of day-to-day existence in modern dungeons.

Perhaps it was inevitable that George Jackson's last published writings, following the fame of the earlier book and what many consider his subsequent martyrdom in San Quentin, should be somewhat disappointing. *Blood in My Eye* essentially plots the strategy for urban guerrilla warfare in America. The violence of his rhetoric disturbs less than the realization that one must face the possibility, at least, that his final actions might have been conditioned by an utterly unrealistic hope. Whatever the actual circumstances of his death, Jackson thought that a revolutionary consciousness had grown to significant proportions outside the walls as well as within.

He shared with his brother and alter-ego Jonathan the sentiment of Fanon that "the time for talking has ended, the time for acting has begun." Jackson spoke of the "August 7 movement" as though his brother's actions at the Marin County Courthouse were a major step in raising revolutionary consciousness and creating an infrastructure "capable of feeding a people's army." He foresaw the imminent development of a military "fist" in the form of a revolutionary vanguard which would support the political program of the Black Panther party with direct action.

One wonders to what extent attorney Fay Stender's remark in *Maximum*

KING

A FILMED RECORD...
MONTGOMERY TO MEMPHIS
ACADEMY AWARD NOMINEE

This film is not a sentimental tribute to a fallen leader. It is the biography of a movement, from the Montgomery bus boycott to the assassin's bullet.

This year will mark the fifth anniversary of the death of Dr. King. Won't you consider showing this remarkable three hour film some time during 1973?

IT IS NOW AVAILABLE AT THE SPECIAL LOW RATE OF $150 FOR CHURCH OR CHURCH RELATED SHOWINGS.

Martin Luther King Foundation, Inc.
140 W. 57th Street New York 10019 (212) 247-7336

We wish to rent a 16mm print of KING: A Filmed Record . . . Montgomery to Memphis at the special rate of $150.

Preferred date _____ Alternate _____

Church or Organization _____

Ordered by _____ Telephone _____

Address _____

City, State, Zip _____

Ordered by (Signed) _____

The Martin Luther King Foundation is a tax-exempt, non-profit organization.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Security that prisoners "are not realistic about what is politically possible" grew out of her close association with George Jackson. Be that as it may, her observation that prisoners as a group are "more loving . . . have more concern for each other . . . have more creative potential" is the crucial issue in remembering the Soledad brother. That these qualities, so evident in his earlier letters, had so little opportunity for nurturing is the failure of "rehabilitation" writ large.

While the emotional appeal of inmate authorship has been enormous (St. Paul's own work for example) more objective presentations would seem to run a better chance of influencing those in a position to determine policies. We should know soon, for the Attica report is the most thorough investigation of a major prison we are likely to see. The details of life in the correctional facility at Attica prior to September, 1971, are carefully reported and may in fact be the most important contribution of the study. The atrocity of the September 13 assault which killed 39 and wounded 80 in 15 minutes, has to be understood in terms of its antecedents in the day-to-day, year-in-and-year-out psychological violence of ordinary prison life, at Attica and elsewhere.

The Commission soundly rejects the claim that the Attica revolt was planned and directed by militants: it was simply the spontaneous combustion of smoldering resentments and frustrated hopes. And, no, the rebels did *not* slit the throats of hostages as officials reported at the time; captors and captives alike were slain in the hail of bullets and buckshot which rained upon the crowded yard at the time of the assault.

The basic facts of September 13 are that, in a planned attack utilizing shotguns, with no clear mandate as to who would fire and under what circumstances anyone would fire, a virtual orgy of killing took place. "With the exception of Indian massacres in the late 19th century, the State Police assault . . . was the bloodiest one-day encounter between Americans since the Civil War." A National Guard physician who entered the yard about twenty minutes after the firing stopped described the scene as one of "absolute horror," impossible to communicate to anyone who was not present.

That there would be considerable carnage in the wake of what was planned should have been a foregone conclusion. But adequate advance preparations were not made to deal with the injured and the dying. For example, no emergency surgical procedures were begun until four hours after the massacre. Reprisals began immediately: "hundreds of inmates, stripped of their clothing, were brutalized by correction officers, troopers, and sheriff's deputies." A week after the assault, doctors reported finding bruises, lacerations, abrasions and broken bones among 45 percent of the inmates who had been in D Yard.

Why this barbarism? (On one level): the episode at Attica is easy to explain—madness begets madness. That the criminal injustice system itself should give birth to such horrors can surprise only those who have not bothered to know what the prisons are doing. They are not engaged in "corrections" to any extent which could justify their existence. The Commission concluded that when an inmate leaves Attica "there is nothing in prison that has prepared him for a return to society."

It is not merely the absence of realistic training programs and opportunities for decision-making which engenders cynicism and bitterness. Access to adequate medical and dental care, a better diet, fair pay for work (average wage was $7.50 per month), access to legal advice, and other basic issues are of paramount concern. The Commission advocates a Bill of Rights for prisoners which would grant that all rights save that of liberty of the person (e.g., political, religious, and economic freedom) are to be respected. Communication between prisons and local communities must be drastically improved through unrestricted inmate access to all information media and ready approach to the prison by members of the press. These and other remedies are seen in relation to basic reforms in the whole criminal justice system and society at large.

Struggle for Justice, the (impressive) report of a research team to the American Friends Service Committee goes much further than the Attica report in its diagnosis and recommendations. It concludes that the lesson to be learned from the prison revolts is not

TAXES KILLING YOU?

Think about the Vietnamese, Cambodians, and Laotians . . . Your taxes are killing them too: *for real!*

WAR TAX RESISTANCE

The Responsible Alternative.

912 East 31 Street
Kansas City, Mo. 64109

COM

☐ Enclosed find a $ _____ contribution.

☐ Please send _____ copies of the comprehensive book AIN'T GONNA PAY FOR WAR NO MORE ($1.50 plus 15¢ postage per copy.)

☐ I would like more information about War Tax Resistance.

NAME _____

ADDRESS _____

ZIP _____

Now in Paperback

THE SURVIVAL OF DOGMA

Avery Dulles, S.J.

An examination of the role of faith, authority, and dogma in a changing world. **An Image Book, $1.45**

DOUBLEDAY

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

that conditions in the prison need to be improved and more rehabilitation programs provided. The message is that the current philosophy of rehabilitation is "theoretically faulty, systematically discriminatory in administration, and inconsistent with some of our most basic concepts of justice." The reformer's cry, "Let the punishment fit the criminal, rather than the crime" has opened the door to precisely those abuses which have turned the prisons into tinder-boxes. This philosophy of individualized treatment necessarily introduces broad discretionary power throughout the operation of the criminal justice system, a power which has operated to the detriment of those it was intended to help.

Again it is not merely the practice, but the theory itself which turns discretionary power to the demonic side. What *is* rehabilitation? In truth, no one knows: "there is no conceivably relevant knowledge in existence to support either the decision to grant parole or deny it." In the absence of scientific data on criminal pathology and how to treat it, the assumption is made that adjustment to prevailing social norms is the measure of successful treatment. Rehabilitation becomes assimilation. That minorities, various subcultures and the poor in general are overrepresented in the prison does not mean that the theory has failed but that it is not achieving its major objective.

So what is to be done? We must bring back the role of law while greatly limiting the scope of its operation, i.e., let us reverse our field and declare that "the whole man" is not the proper concern of the law. Eliminate all laws except those where "there is a compelling social need to require compliance with a particular norm," and reduce the vagueness of those which remain. Let the punishment fit the *crime*: specific punishment for all who commit the same crime under similar circumstances. Increase the certainty of application, drastically reduce the length of sentences and the deterrent effect of the law will rise. Find the means for police accountability to the community; eliminate money bail; abolish plea-bargaining; send *all* pleas to trial, including guilty ones; allow no judicial discretion in setting sentences; stop indeterminate sentencing; end the parole system.

If these proposals sound too radical, read the Attica report and ask how present realities match our own notions of decency and justice. Inmate Roosevelt Williams wrote from the "hole" at Soledad in 1971, "to those of you who doubt that any or all of these events are true, I can only say sleep, innocent child, sleep. To awake is to become mad." Somehow we must awaken to the awful truth without going mad, and do something about prisons other than proposing bigger and better ones.

The Psychology of Religious Doubt

PHILIP M. HELFAER

Beacon, $9.95

EUGENE C. KENNEDY

If ever there were a time when the effort to understand religious doubt was appropriate it is surely now. Faith, we are told, is disintegrating in the acid bath of modern times. Hardly a day goes by that some prelate or social observer does not alert us to the fragmentation of our religious heritage

That's what the Paulists are all about.

For more information write: Father Donald C. Campbell, Room 103. C

Paulist Fathers.
415 West 59th Street
New York, N.Y. 10019.

THE JOY OF LIVING
IS IN THE JOY OF
Giving
Praying
Working
Sharing the joys
the laughter
the problems
the success
and failures
knowing that where
there is human need
in the cities,
the suburbs,
in parishes,
on campus
the Paulist is there
helping
counseling
rejoicing
in the presence
of the good
and in
the signs of hope
around us

● ● ● ● ● ● ● ● ●

REVIEWERS

DONALD G. SHOCKLEY has written extensively on the subject of prison reform. He is chaplain at the University of Redlands in California.

FATHER EUGENE C. KENNEDY, M.M., is the well-known psychologist and author. His most recent book is *The New Sexuality* (Doubleday).

MAURICE LAVANOUX was for forty years the editor of the quarterly *Liturgical Arts*.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

under the impact of doubt or other vaguely defined rebellions of the human spirit. Philip M. Helfaer's *The Psychology of Religious Doubt* is, then, presently very welcome. This young scholar proceeds calmly and compassionately to explore religious doubt in a framework of psychoanalytic thought and psychological techniques. What Helfaer does is to place the doubts of faith into the context of human personality development, offering us a new way of perceiving the dynamics of our own belief systems.

This book is not, as the author fully understands and explicitly states, the last word on the subject which has been of such major concern to theologians for centuries. Some, indeed, will object to his use of psychoanalytic theory to light up a subject which has been considered beyond its categories. Nonetheless, Helfaer compels us to examine at close range the lives of several students at Protestant schools of theology. He helps us to move intimately with men vulnerable to religious doubt. To the seeking believer who "does not *ask*, he *suffers*, questions about life . . . most in need of answering."

Contrasting the Barthian or conservative outlook on religious doubt (a weakness to "shame" the theologian) with the more acceptant and compassionate view of Tillich, the author carefully traces the genesis of belief systems in a brace of students who reflect various positions on a continuum of theological conviction. In each instance he hypothesizes a process of identity-formation in which the character of the person's faith is notably influenced by early psychic structures. Central to this in the admittedly restricted range of subjects in the book is, as one would expect in psychoanalytic theory, the role of the mother. There is nothing startlingly new in the discovery of the subtleties of growth that pivot on identification with the mother, of course, and yet the careful documentation and reflection on each individual offers us a richness that has never been available in quite this way before. It is fascinating to observe the elaboration of individual lives, the functional role of faith in self-definition and adjustment, and the similarity of basic dynamics in persons of very differing outlooks.

The tone of the book is unavoidably that of the conscientious graduate-level inquirer carefully mating the theory and method of his psychological training to a quest where such tools, despite their relative effectiveness, have not often been used as well as here. The author will inherit the mantle of the disrupter of belief, the naturalist trying to reduce everything to psychological jargon. It will be, for those who cannot stomach a journey into doubt, an easy criticism to make. It will be regretful if, in an age during which many yearn for a return to an unquestioned faith, this book is not read thoroughly by everyone interested in the meaning of belief and its human foundations in living, breathing believers. Helfaer has taken another step toward helping us to grasp the depths and complexities of the human con-

Coming Soon

American Catholics in "An Uncertain, Anxious Time"

a major feature by

JOHN TRACY ELLIS

". . . . I WILL CENTER my comments in the main around two questions, and treat these with special reference to Catholic education: 1) How is one to explain the malaise that set in among the Catholics in this country about 1966? 2) What, conceivably, might be done to mitigate the confusion and doubt that have brought the nation's largest religious group of approximately 50,000,000 members, nigh one-fourth of the country's population, to such a low estate?"

Send for a Trial Subscription

17 Issues for $3

FOR NEW SUBSCRIBERS ONLY

COMMONWEAL, 232 Madison Ave., New York, N.Y. 10016

Including the John Tracy Ellis issue, send the next 17 issues of Commonweal to:

Name .....

Address .....

City, State, Zip .....

☐ I prefer a one-year subscription at $14 with that issue.

2/16/73

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Breaking new grounds

in spirituality . . .

Prayer:
A New Encounter

Martin Thornton

Prayer, worship, spirituality—these constitute a major problem for the Church today. The traditional forms seem to have gone dead for many people, and a search for a viable spirituality is evident.

Can the Church respond to this search? In *Prayer: A New Encounter* Dr. Thornton—noted author, lecturer and leading contemporary Anglican thinker from the Catholic tradition—shows us what such a response might be: a response that is intellectually honest and takes both contemporary theology and the contemporary world seriously.

$5.95

Please send check with order to

MOREHOUSE-BARLOW
14 East 41st Street
New York 10017

Classified

RATES: 50c a word, one time; 48c, three times; 45c, seven times; 42c, thirteen times. Twelve words minimum. For box numbers add 50c per insertion. Classified payable with order; monthly in advance for more than three times. COMMONWEAL, 232 Madison Ave., New York, N.Y. 10016.

Latin America

● LADOC—Monthly translation service of vital documents on Latin America: development, Church issues, etc. $6 annually. Students, researchers, generalists. Ask for free sample. LADOC-C, Box 6066, Washington, D.C. 20005.

Spanish

● LEARN SPANISH IN MEXICO. If you really want to learn Spanish intensively and economically, start any Monday at CIDOC. For catalog on language school and de-schooled academy, write: CIDOC, APDO 479, Cuernavaca, Mexico.

Piano

● ALWAYS WANTED to play piano/organ? Frank's System enables adult beginner to play simple melodies almost immediately, gives foundation for further progress. Complete, correct, understandable instructions, diagrams. $5. PLEASANTRIES, 7250 Van Nuys Blvd., Van Nuys, Calif. 91405.

Vietnam Hospital

● HELP REBUILD the 950-bed civilian hospital in North Vietnam destroyed by B-52 bombing raids. Three million dollars needed. Send gifts to: Bach Mai Hospital Fund, Medical Aid for Indochina, 140 Sixth St., Cambridge, Mass. 02142.

dition which carries with it an urge and a need to explain the meaning of our lives. Reflecting clearly the influences of the theologians and social scientists he quotes, he has presented an able and stimulating work. Perhaps it should be read slowly and with ample time to think about the case histories. One looks to the author for a lifetime of valuable contributions in the field of religious psychology.

● ● ● ● ● ● ● ● ●

IN BRIEF

THIRD GENERATION: The Changing Meaning of Architecture *by Philip Drew, Praeger, $25.* It seems to be a fad these days to separate generations as if one displaced the other in the favor of a fickle public. In this case the third generation follows such stalwarts as Perret and Frank Lloyd Wright and, later, Gropius, Le Corbusier and Mies van der Rohe. Soon the third generation will yield to others and so it goes. But does it?

A prime example of this third generation's production is the Sydney Opera House which the author has described as an "inspired development of group form." Perhaps, but recent news tell us that this fanciful "essence of opera through the medium of abstract form" can be an expensive fantasy—from an estimated four million dollars to about one hundred millions.

Mosha Sadfie's three-dimensional modular building system for Habitat '67 in Montreal, is also fanciful, and we can honestly wonder how practical it can be for comfortable daily living.

Profusely illustrated, this book can give one an insight on the enthusiasms of the present and lead us on to the *fourth* generation. MAURICE LAVANOUX

● ● ● ● ● ● ● ● ●

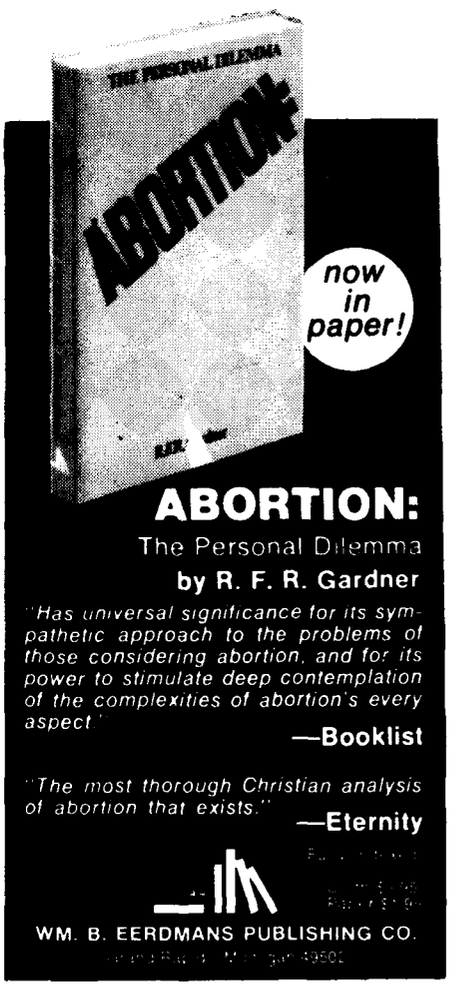
CORRESPONDENCE

(Continued from page 435)

policies of the United States by those who praise the non-interventionist sympathies of the Fathers Berrigan.

4) His "silence" is deplored by those who have been more silent about the events in the Sudan, West Pakistan, the U.S.S.R., the Congo, North Vietnam, and the Middle East.

TIMOTHY A. MITCHELL
Committee of Catholic Laymen
Pro Ecclesia


ABORTION
now in paper!
ABORTION:
The Personal Dilemma
by R. F. R. Gardner
"Has universal significance for its sympathetic approach to the problems of those considering abortion, and for its power to stimulate deep contemplation of the complexities of abortion's every aspect"
—Booklist
"The most thorough Christian analysis of abortion that exists."
—Eternity
WM. B. EERDMANS PUBLISHING CO.

Now in Paperback

THE SOUL AFIRE
Revelations of the Mystics

Edited by H. A. Reinhold. Selections from the writings of the greatest mystics of all ages, covering every phase of the mystical experience.
An Image Book, $1.95

DOUBLEDAY

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

MAKE YOUR OWN PEACE

This is the theme of an extraordinary post-ceasefire campaign for peace action and war relief in North and South Vietnam. It offers Americans an opportunity to take action within the realm of their own conscience to alleviate suffering our country has caused and to prevent its recurrence. Its purpose is to expand substantially the impartial, non-political programs of the American Friends Service Committee. Churches of all faiths and synagogues are invited to participate in this work towards peace.

AFSC aid in the Vietnam War began in 1965 with medical assistance to civilians. The Service Committee has supplied penicillin for war sufferers in NLF controlled areas and delivered four installments of surgical supplies to North Vietnam.

In South Vietnam, the AFSC has provided medical care for inmates of the Quang Ngai Province prison, developed a program for refugee children and conducted a widely recognized prosthetics and rehabilitation program for war injured civilians.

In the area of peace action, the American Friends Service Committee has been calling for peace in South Vietnam since 1954. Currently, the AFSC continues to press for release of more than 200,000 civilian political prisoners in Thieu's jails. It is challenging new and disguised forms of intervention such as replacement of soldiers with 10,000 U.S. civilian advisors. It is also supporting a campaign to stop further development and production of anti-personnel weapons.

AFSC programs are working today. We have budgeted over $1,000,000 for peace action and war relief this year. We now want to increase this by at least another $1,000,000. A kit of suggestions is available for religious groups who would like to join in this campaign. Send the coupon for an information kit—or to make a personal contribution.

ACT: NORTH/SOUTH VIETNAM FUND

FOR WAR RELIEF AND PEACE ACTION

AMERICAN FRIENDS SERVICE COMMITTEE
A Quaker Organization, 160 N. 15th St., Philadelphia, PA 19102

☐ I would like an information kit about your North/South Vietnam Fund for war relief and peace action.

☐ I enclose $_____ to be used in expanding AFSC programs in this area.

Name_____

Address_____

City_____ State_____ Zip_____

2-02-00-128 Contributions are deductible for Federal income tax purposes. 171 NA

412

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED